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wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles. 601

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely. [829] [115] [124] [183]

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines. [602] [614]

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake. 601 561

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous- 601

[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Diegueño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado [184] [171]

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593 Since aboriginal conditions are almost wholly a thing of the past, it is not easy to say what was the nature of family life.
592 Relatives lived close together in a village. Two or three families lived together in a single house at times ("when they loved each other so they could not separate"), but such joint households were not common. Joint households were ordinarily comprised of patrilineal relatives.

[602] They take more pride in that family. Of course, they do have respect for all their relatives, but more for those on the father's side.

[115] A description was obtained from Hoot of the composition of
513 the household in which she lived as a girl. She remembers a large
592 house, her father's sister's home. Her aunt, uncle, and their two children slept on the south side; on the north side were her own parents, a younger brother, and herself. The southwest quarter was reserved for her father's mother's sister. Later this household broke up when her parents built a home of their own. There her parents slept on the south side; she herself was on the north side, but she never slept alone. At times the younger brother slept with her, but he, a little boy, would sometimes sleep between his parents. Then she would prevail on a girl friend to
[356] stay with her. Cooking utensils were stored on the south side near the door, so as to be handy for her mother when she arose.
[574] The rear of the house was left vacant for a visiting relative or friend.

When Last Star was a boy, in his house there were only his parents and his father's mother. He was an only child. His parents slept on the north side ("Parents always sleep on the north side"), his grandmother and himself opposite. The rear of the house was left for storage; food and water stood opposite beside
[354] the door. The fireplace was between the eastern pair of main posts.

855 All elders of a household assumed parental relation to the children, feeding, admonishing, and training them.[60] A boy's father or either grandfather made him his first bow, for example.
[597] Step-parents assumed the relation of parents to their step-chil-

[60] The special influence of the mother's brother, as among the Hopi, and that of the maternal grandfather, known among the Paiute, was wholly absent.

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dren: nevertheless, they would never think of using parent-child terms for one another. They would be horrified by the reference to the dead. Adoption of children was frequent because of the wars. Even distant relatives would take them. When the child was adult, he would look on his foster-parents as he would on true parents. They have a saying: "never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be [as] a child." Yet occasionally orphans and step-children were mistreated. Despite this sentiment, there was a curious detachment toward children. No one would wholly blame a woman for deserting her children if her husband had given her sufficient cause.

An illustrative incident dates from about 1840. There was a Kohuana woman of the Kohuana village at Gila Crossing whose husband had died. She had two little children, a boy of six and a girl of two. She decided that she wanted to live with her relatives still on the Colorado. She thought the little children could never travel that far afoot. So she prepared provisions for herself, sent the children off to play, merely telling them to wait for her, and stole off to join the group that was going. When she failed to return, the boy led his little sister by the hand from house to house, inquiring for her. At night he would take her into the meeting house and build a fire to keep warm. In the morning they would go to someone's house to be fed. They had no relatives there. The boy said, "If I have no relatives here, I will call you all ciyi',[61] strangers." The two were inseparable. People took care of them. When they were grown, he said, "I have taken the trouble to bring up my sister; now someone should take the trouble to marry her." Both have long been dead.

A brother and sister had the highest respect for each other; they would not use obscene words in the other's presence, for example. Yet I received the impression that this had none of the stringency of Crow custom,[62] but was rather our own middle-class attitude.

Relationship seems to have imposed an obligation to be at least friendly and helpful if needed. Today, relatives gather to till each other's fields, expecting no more than to be fed by their host, or they tend each other's children.

Something of this sentiment is reflected in the following tale. In the early days an American beaver hunter living west of the Gila Bend Mountains was friendly with the Maricopa. He had bags of dried beaver skins there. Some

[61] The use of this form (ciyi' instead of kiyi') indicates that he must have been addressing the women.

[62] Lowie, *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 214.

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Mohave

173 Maricopa, visiting him, found him slain by the Yavapai. They thought they had
● 602 best flee so that they would not be accused of his murder. One Maricopa, however, insisted on carrying off one of the bags, thinking it contained the much desired miner's shovels. The others crowded around him, ingratiatingly calling him "uncle" and by other kinship terms. When they opened the bag, they found that what had felt like shovel blades were only the stiff, flat tails of the beaver. So they thought it a joke on him and pushed him about.

601 They did not refer to father's and mother's kinsmen in the
184 Mohave manner as on the right and left respectively,[63] but a simple reference to "on the man's side" (ipa′gȧwŭ′m) or "on the woman's side" (sĭn,ȧŏ′kȧwŭ′m) would be fully understood.

[63] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 749.